

THE

# MUSEUM:

OR, THE

# Literary and Historical R E G I S T E R.

NUMB. I. Saturday March 29.

On the Characters of MEN and BOOKS.



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on nothing more remarkably than on the prevailing Characters of Men and Books.

They are the Objects both of our retir'd and of our focial Hours. To fix them in our own Minds is one principal Business of our Studies; and they are propagated thro' all Ranks of Men from the University,

the Pulpit, the Theatre, in our Domestick Connections, in publick Councils, and in private Conversation. Now the human Mind is naturally dispos'd to move with the Multitude. The Passions are never so powerfully excited as where the Contagion runs from one Eye to another thro' a large A 2. Assembly.

especially of Terror.

The Case is the same as to Opinion and popular Taste. So that when once a Man of any Consequence in the active Scenes of Life has establish'd a Character of Virtue, Dexterity or Valour, the Expediency of publick Measures is generally determin'd among the People by his Approbation, as far as little Hints and Circumstances can help them to infer it. And in like manner, let an Author, treating of an extenfive or important Subject, obtain but once a Majority of Voices in the learned World, and immediately the whole System of human Knowledge puts on a new Appearance, and fuits itself to all the Confequences of his particular Doctrine. For the generality of Mankind is much more ffrongly affected by present Objects, by a Name, a Character, or the Title of a Book, than by remote Principles of Acting or Judging, which require great Attention and Reach of Thought to apply them. So that in respect of publick Opinion, we commonly invert the natural Order of Things. We should estimate Men and Books by the sole Consideration of what is Right and True: it commonly happens that Truth and Right are try'd by the Touchstone of popular Favour and of learned Authority.

How much this has been the Case in publick Affairs, all History is pregnant with Examples; and the History of the Church, in particular, is taken up with nothing elfe. Whether a Pelagian deferv'd to be excommunicated, or an Arian to be put to Death, was never the Question; but what was St. Ferom's Opinion in the Point, or how had St. Athanafius instructed his Diocese to proceed? And in the World of Science, no one, I suppose, needs to be reminded of the Philosophy of Aristotle, how long he kept the human Understanding in Chains, or how Matters of Fact were admitted, rejected, or explain'd away, just as they affented or gave the Lye to his Conclusions. This indeed, it may be answer'd, was the Cafe chiefly in barbarous Times, in the Days of Gothick and Monkish Ignorance. But what shall we say to the Cartesian System? Loose and fanciful as it was, it fprung up, it grew universal, and establish'd itself in the

fame Tyrannical Dominion within a few Years; and that too in an Age proud of its Politeness, and after the true Principles of Philosophy had been explain'd and inculcated by our great Countryman Bacon.

'Tis obvious to a slight Attention, that this blind Attachment to Men and Books is principally owing to an Indolence of Mind, and an implicit Trust in the Report of others. We want either Leisure or Activity to inquire for ourselves. We acquiesce in the Judgment of our Company, and we propagate it. For who can be so unsocial as not to have some Concern in what passes without doors, or so singular as to Question or Contradict what every Body else takes for granted? But we should reslect that each Man praises or condemns according to a Standard he has form'd in his own Mind; and where this Standard or Test is unknown to us, his Praise, for aught we know, may be really Reproach and Mockery.

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I once heard the highest Commendations bestow'd upon a System of Moral Philosophy, and was accordingly prepar'd to read it with a very savourable Prepossession; till by several unguarded Expressions, I found out the Reporter to have been conversant only with Hebbes and Mandeville, and then I consider'd his Praise in the same Light as if a Man of sounder Judgment had assur'd me the Book was altogether salse and pernicious. And I have since met with frequent Occasions to wish that my young Countrymen, when they hear an Author on Civil Government highly admir'd, would ask in the first Place whether his Admirer studied Politicks in the Ways of Men, or within the Walls of Scholastick Divinity.

There are many Causes which mislead us in our Estimate of Men and Books. To enumerate them would require a Volume. One of the Principal, however, is a Disposition to be pleas'd upon the Whole, and to commend in General where any particular Faculty or Taste of Pleasure is gratified. This Gratification may be quite beside the Purpose. The Quality we admire in an Author may be altogether foreign to his Subject. The Accomplishment we are charm'd with in a Man, may be no ways relative to his Office or Station. In these essential Points, they are both perhaps greatly desicient; yet if we are but pleas'd, no matter how, or in what respect; we are bound in Gratitude to acknowledge it; and a nice, partial, cautious Praise looks as if we grudg'd what is due to Merit.

This indolent and undistinguishing Satisfaction has occafion'd many Disorders in the World. Julius Caefar was the

Cause, perhaps, of more Misery and Vice than any Man that ever liv'd; but he was Good-humour'd and a fine Gentleman. The Prætor and the Conful was wholly employ'd in preparing the Ruin of his Country, by ruining the Morals of his Fellow-Citizens; but he was generous to Profusion, and, \* as Sallust ought to have express'd it, the Refuge of all fuch as wanted to be pardon'd. The Dictator tore up the Foundation of the nobleft State the Sun ever shone upon; but he did not murder all the honest Men that had oppos'd him. On these Accounts, the Name of Caesar was after his Death held facred in Rome, and being borrow'd by a Stripling, who had all his Wickedness without half his good Qualities, enabled him to fix himself in the Tyranny, and bequeath it to Creatures that have difgrac'd human Nature. And on the fame Accounts, the Name of Cæsar is to this Day with many a Name of Admiration: His Accomplishments have too generally been made use of to apologize for the Maxims on which he proceeded, and reconcile Common Sense to the Politicks of Treachery and Ambition.

The fame Observation holds true in the Republick of Letters. Would we take but a Moment's Time to ask ourfelves what is the peculiar Excellence of an Historian, or a Divine, and try their Performances by that fole Test: how many false Judgments and unjust Actions would be prevented? Had this Rule govern'd the World, Religion would not have been dishonour'd with that Oppression and Impiety which the Learning and Eloquence of the Popish Clergy have fometimes incited Princes to exercise. Had the Doctrines of Atheism been retail'd only in plain, intelligible Language, no Man would have heard them without Laughter; they would have been too ridiculous even to have mov'd his Indignation. The poetical Fire of Lucretius, and the elegant Style of Hobbes, do they alter the Nature of Truth and Falsehood? No, furely; but they have done infinite Mischief, meerly because Men would not reflect that Philosophy has nothing to do with poetical Fire, or with Elegance of Style, but with Truth and Falsehood only. And whoever looks thro' the Lift of Historical Authors, will find many strange Accounts of Men and Things, that have been in the fame Manner recommended to popular Belief, by Qualities no way relative to the proper Buliness of Hittory.

<sup>\*</sup> Czsar dande, sublewande, ignoscendo gloriam adeptus est ... Miferis persugium erat. De bell. Catilin.

We are highly obliged to our worthy Correspondent who figns himself MORALIS, for several elegant Pieces which he has favour'd us with; among which is the following.

### FLORIO: A Moral History.

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OU have often heard me talk of Florio. He is a Person that I effeem, and love very much; that I fometimes pity, and that I am always in Pain for. Florio has a great Fund of good Sense; yet more good Nature: and rather too humble an Opinion of his own Parts. One would think that these are all very good Things: Yet the two latter of these good Qualities, fometimes get the Better of the former; and are really the Occasion of all the Concerns I suffer for him. 'Tis a great Pity that fuch good Qualities should ever be of any ill Consequence; but if they may prove so, 'tis more necessary to be advertis'd against them, than against our bad Qualities themselves. These are open Enemies; whilst the others perhaps are a fort of conceal'd ones, which may filently fap the Foundation of a Man's Happiness, by little and little; and at last wholly overturn it, without being once fuspected, till the Mischief is irretrievable.

It is chiefly owing to Florio's Modesty, and his good Nature that he has entertain'd this general Maxim for the Conduct of his Life—" That one ought to fall in with the "Humours of the Company one meets with." If I am with gay People, says he, I wou'd be gay; if with grave, I wou'd be grave. If the People about me are sober, I am very glad of it; for I don't love Drinking. If they are chearful, and have a Mind to indulge their Genius; why should I look like a Philosopher amongst them, and break in upon their Mirth? I have a good Constitution; I can bear as much as any of them; Why should I be the first to spoil good Company? If they are for Play, 'tis what I don't at all dislike; and if for Women, who wou'd be against so foft, and so agreeable an Addition to any Entertainment? 'Tis thus Florio

reasons; and, to do him Justice, he lives up to his Text.

I know several very sensible Men, and I don't know whether there are not some great Moralists, that hold the same Maxim: Yet surely, if complying with the present Humour of those about us, be a good reason for acting, there is not any one bad Thing in the World which we may not have a good Reason for doing.

As I always gravely maintain, that Virtue and good Sense are the only Rule of our Actions; and as Florio makes good

Nature and Chance the Rule of his; we have had frequent Disputes on this Head; which always end in this, that he goes on in his easy Way, and I in my old-fashion'd one: But with this Difference, that I have often the Uncasiness of seeing him brought into Inconveniencies by following his Rule; whereas he could never yet find out any ill Consequence that

happen'd to me from following mine.

About the Beginning of last Year, I had a Visit from Florio; his Face was overcast, and his Temper discompos'd. I foon found the Occasion. He had been in Company the Night before, where Play was propos'd: He fell in with it at first out of meer Complaifance; was warm'd by Degrees: and had loft a confiderable Sum, before he had Time to reflect on what he was doing. How many Uneafineffes did this fudden Compliance cost him! How many Objects did he lose the Pleafure of relieving, that he would otherwise have reliev'd? How many Difficulties did he run through to hide it from his Father; who has a Seat in the most honourable Assembly of the Nation, and who by his Behaviour there, did Honour to the best of Causes in the worst of Times? In how many Things was he oblig'd to fink below what his Rank requir'd? In thort, he was forc'd to live on the foot of a meer frugal Merchant all that Year, for half an Hour's good Nature.

When the Year was over and the Cloud blown off, Floria enter'd on the new one with fome little Resolution. But it happen'd that a particular Friend, the best-natur'd Man in the World, came to Town; and Florio must be of all the Parties with him. What Harm is there in Mirth? And who wou'd not rejoice with a Friend that he had not feen for fo long a Time? For four or five Nights, 'twas nothing but Gayety and Joy; which every Night grew higher than the laft. fixth, in the greatest Height of it 'twas propos'd that they should all go and pay their Devotions at one of the Temples of Ventes, in a Quarter of the Town where that Goddess is worship'd all Night and all Day. Florio was not himself a Frequenter of these Temples; but by his old Rule, he would not be the only irreligious Man among them. The Effect of this Complanance was the lofing two Features out of his Face. But a good-natur'd Man, you know, can do well enough without a Nofe; and one Eye ferves for feeing, almost as well as two.

I wish this had been the worst that had happen'd to poor Floriz; but his Compliances were to cost him much dearer than this. It was but last Thursday Night, that he had the Missortune to be with the same Friend, to whom he was

obliged

oblig'd for the former Lofs. His Friend drank for the fake of the Liquor; and Florio for the fake of fuch a Friend. They fat at it deep into the Night. At last they rose by Consent, and reel'd out both together. They made feveral Paces in the Street, Arm in Arm; till Florio stop'd, caught by the enchanting Voice of a Chambermaid, who (like a good Housewife) was got up fo early; and leant, finging and twirling her Mop, out of a Garret-Window. His Friend went on. Florio was so intent, that he did not mind him; till he was interrupted all of a fudden, by the Screams of a Woman, and a Clashing of Swords. He look'd where the Sound directed him: and faw his Friend at some Distance, engag'd with a Man who feem'd to be a Gentleman by his Drefs; and a Lady by them who was crying out for Help. Florio flew to the Place, but came only time enough to fee his Friend pierc'd thro' the Heart. Heated as he was with Liquor, and enrag'd at fo moving a Sight, Florio immediately attack'd the Murderer, and after two or three Passes, laid him at his Feet. The Lady, who flood by, and had call'd out in vain all the while to part them, feem'd quite distracted with Grief on his Fall. She tore her Hair, flung herself on the Ground by him, and faid she would die with him. Then kneel'd by him, and rais'd his Head; and beg'd him to live for the Sake of his poor Children. The Gentleman endeavour'd what he could to confole her; then turning his Face (which was all pale, in a cold Sweat, and with all the Marks of approaching Death upon it) towards Florio: " Whoever you are, fays "he, I forgive you my Death. And may Heaven forgive it you. Tho', let me tell you, you have drawn your Sword in a very unjust Cause. This Lady is my Wife. Your " Friend there, as you call him, offer'd fuch Incivilities to " her as are not to be born. I drew my Sword in her De-" fence, and die for defending the Chastity of the best of Wives. Adieu, my dear Wife! thou best of Women, " adieu! - Love and take Care of my poor Children!-"On how many Occasions may they want me? Young as "they are, helpless, and unform'd! - Do the best you " can for them." Here his Voice fail'd him. He gave his Wife a last Farewell, with the most tender Look that cou'd be imagin'd, and expir'd in her Arms. She was carry'd off some time after, almost senseless, all drown'd in Tears, and cover'd with the Blood of her Husband. carry'd off too, to a Place of greater Safety than some People think he deserves. Yesterday I went to see him: I think I never faw fo-melancholy a Sight. His Eyes are fixt on the

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Ground; he scarce ever lists them up; nor opens his Mouth, unless it be to wish—" That he had received the Wound he has given." If ever he should get the better of the deep Melancholy he is opprest with at present, this surely must make him forswear all that sort of good Nature, which has betrayed him into one of the most shocking Actions in the World; and which, out of a Pretence only to a little kind of Humanity in the Beginning, may thus in the End leave a Man stained with the innocent Blood of his Fellow Creature.

## The DECISION. A TALE.

CLARISSA, sprightly once and gay, Now figh'd the tedious Hours away: She mourn'd the kindest Husband gone, The Husband much - but more the Man. Dark Weeds conceal'd the Fair from View-Yet mightily became her too! She veil'd her pretty blubber'd Face, And wep her Dear - with fuch a Grace ! But lo, young Florimond appears, To dry the joyless Widow's Tears: His Suit she heard with warm Disdain, Protested all his Hopes were vain: Her Hands she wrung, her Robe she rent, And wept, and "wonder'd what he meant!" Yet thro' the Drop that drown'd her Eye, 'Tis faid, their shone a Spark of Joy; And fage Diviners cou'd foretell, That Florimond might yet do well. A Scruple now diffurb'd her Head, " Whether it were a Sin to wed?" Queries and Doubts her Brain posses'd, And bufy Conscience broke her Rest. So, to refolve this knotty Cafe, She feeks the Curate of the Place;

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A Cafuift? — Deep. — Of Judgment? — found.— Yes, fam'd for Parts — the Parish round.

Clarissa with the rifing Sun Approach'd her Friend, and thus begun. Full fixty times hath yonder Light Arofe-as oft hath funk in Night, Since the lamented Hour that gave My faithful Confort to the Grave: And fure no fecond Love shall e'er Efface that Image still so dear: Clarissa to his Mem'ry just, For ever shall revere his Dust. Yet cruel Prudence may require What else were foreign to Defire; And 'midst a Weight of Cares, you know, What can a helpless Woman do? My heedless Servants flight my Call, My Farmers break, my Houses fall; And Florimond, with winning Air, Tells me they want a Husband's Care. What does my learned Doctor fay? "Why, marry fure—without Delay. -

But shou'd the Lover prove unkind,
A Tyrant o'er a tender Mind,
How hard my Lot, condemn'd to mingle
Tears with my Cup! — "Why then live fingle."—
Yet what if an obdurate Fair

Shou'd drive a Lover to despair?

You know the foolish Freaks of Men;
I dread the Thought! — "Nay, take him then."—
But shou'd he squander my Estate,

And pawn my Jewels, Rings, and Plate!
And witlefs I, by Folly led,

Be turn'd adrift to beg my Bread!

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The Doctor, vers'd in Womankind, Perceiv'd the Working of her Mind. Madam, he cries, when Truth we feek, All Argument is often weak: When Reafons weigh on either Part, Opinion vainly tries her Art; So, till descending Truth prevails, She fits suspended o'er the Scales. A Way more speedy shall be try'd; A Tongue shall speak that never ly'd: Know Madam then, my Parish Bell Is famous for advising well; Whate'er the Point in Question be, It hits the Matter to a T: Thus, as it dictates by its Tone, You fure must wed, or lie alone.

Now tow'rd the Church in Hafte they go: The Widow chearful? — But so so — Yet vows, whate'er the Answer giv'n, She " piously will yield to Heav'n:" The Doctor too exhorts the Fair, To " liften and decide with Care." And now the Myst'ry to unfold, He turn'd the Key, the Bell he toll'd. Our Widow mus'd, and knit her Brow -Well, Madam, pray what think you now? "-(Here, first she sobb'd and wip'd her Eye, Then labour'd out a doleful Sigh.) -Think, Doctor? - Why, the Cafe is plain: Alas, I find Refistance vain! In Heav'n, 'tis said, our Doom is seal'd: Ah, Florimond! - and must I yield? Yet not by Choice - by Fate I'm won; The Will of Heav'n be ever done!

The Bell ordains thee to my Bed, For hark, it fairly bids me "Wed." Dear Doctor then, (I fpeak with Sorrow) Be sure you be at Home to-morrow.

Think you the fimple Tale too long?
Then hear the Moral of my Song:
The Moral, to no Sex confin'd,
Regards alike all human Kind.

Sly Paffion and diftemper'd Senfe Usurp the Form of Evidence; And Truth and Falsehood, Good and Ill, Receive their Tincture from the Will. Man boafts his Reason's Pow'r in vain; The Pageant drags a hidden Chain: A vary'd Shape each Object wears, Just as he wishes, hopes, or fears: His deepest Thought, his vaunted Rule, Is Paffion's Slave, or Folly's Fool. 'Tis hence we blindly can approve The very Faults of those we love: 'Tis hence we blindly can debate The noblest Deeds of those we hate. Abroad thus works perverted Will; At Home our Views are darker still : And Actions deem'd abfurd in thee, Are prudent, wife, and just in me: Self-Love adores her own Caprice, Still deifys each darling Vice; And by the Colour of a Name, Removes at once the Guilt and Shame. The Prodigal is "gen'rous, free:" The Mifer " boafts Œconomy:" "Gay," the Debauch'd; the Proud, is "Great;" The bold Oppreffor " hates a Cheat;"

# The MUSEUM: Or the

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The fawning Slave "obliges all;"
And mad Revenge "is Honour's Call."
Thus Paffion shoots thro' every Part;
The Brain is tainted with the Heart:
Weak Judgment falls before Temptation;
And Reason—is but Inclination.

# A BALLAD,

To the Tune of To your fair Ladies now at Land.

Occasioned by a late Copy of Verses on Miss Brickenden's going to Newnham by Water; in which were the following Lines:

- The waving Trees of Newnham's pendant Wood,
- To meet her, feem to rush into the Flood:
- " Peep o'er their fellows Heads to view the Fair, &c.

I.

WHILST you, my Charming Nancy, reign
Of every Muse the Theme;
Whose Presence decks with Flowers the Plain,
With Pride swells Isis' Stream;
May I presume you'll lend an Ear
To me your humble Sonneteer?—Fa, la.

II.

But left, my Fair, you fhou'd look cold,
Cry pifh, and call me rude;
Or think that I dare be fo bold,
My Paffion to intrude;
It is not for my felf I fue,
But for some Trees that die for you.— Fa, la.

Since

#### TII.

Since late on Isis' filver Flood
Your fatal Form was seen,
Some luckless Trees of Newnham Wood
(Till then full fresh and green)
No more their verdant Honours spread,
But sigh for You, and hang their Head,—Fa, la.

#### IV.

'Tis faid, that with a Look most queer
The Dotards peeping stood;
No Priest with more lascivious Leer
Confessing Nun e'er view'd:
Nay, that they rush'd into the Flood———
Was e'er such amorous Sticks of Wood?——Fa, la.

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#### V.

How then can all your numerous Band
Of Lovers not despair,
When Hearts of Oak could not withstand
A Face so wond'rous fair?
Since in your Breast no Pity's sound,
Tho' Lovers hang, and Trees are drown'd.——Fa, la,

#### VI

Well did the Poet's amorous Song
Stile you the Publick Care;
For all our Country 'Squires e're long
Will dread the passing Fair:
Think what will good Lord Harcourt do,
Now Newnham Woods are fir'd by you.—Fa, la.

#### VII.

In pity to our Woods, restrain
The Lightening of your Eyes,
Since at each Glance, upon the Plain
Some blasted Forest lies:
If you proceed, my lovely Maid,
You'll ruin our poetic Shade.—Fa, la.

## LITERARY MEMOIRS.

The ROMAN HISTORY from the Building of Rome to the Ruin of the Common wealth, illustrated with Maps and other Plates, Vol. II. By N. Hooke, Esq;

Sold by C.HITCH and G.HAWKINS, Quarto, 1745. Pages 560, exclusive of the Dedication, Preface, Contents, and Capitoline Marbles. Dedicated to the Earl of MARCHMONT.

TR. HOOKE prefaces this fecond Volume of his Work with some Apology for having so long delayed the Publication of it: He observes, " that tho' true Roman History is " fupposed to begin with the Period which opens it, it is " for the most part so uninteresting, and in the rest where one would with to be fully informed (as particularly in the "War with Hannibal, and the Civil Commotions raised by " the Gracehi) so imperfect, and the Contradictions amongst " the Historians so frequent, that to a Person incapable of close " and continued Application, it could be no fhort nor eafy " Talk, to give a Series of the Events of two or three hun-" dred Years, that should be consistent, decently supported 66 by antient Authorities, and related in fuch a Manner throughout, as not fometimes to put the Reader to Sleep; " and he is much afraid, that notwithstanding his Endeavours " to avoid the Soporiferous in this Volume, the Reader will "in many Places perceive the Writer creeping along under a Load too heavy for him." We believe few of our Readers will agree with Mr. Hooke, either in the first or latter part of this Observation, either in thinking the two Punic Wars, and the subsequent ones against Philip, Perseus, Antiochus, &c. dry and jejune parts of the Roman History, (and it is certain none are more Circumstantially and Ornamentally related, the want of the Marvellous being amply repaid by the Authenticity of the Facts) or that they shall find themselves in any danger of Nodding, whilst they are perusing our Author's elegant and exact Narration.

Mr. Hooke takes notice of the Improvements he has gradually ingrafted on his Original Defign, which was only an Abridgement of the voluminous Tomes of Catrou and Rouille.—That he has all along confulted, compared and referred to the Original Authorities, in which he was greatly affifted by a learned Friend; and of all modern Writers has

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made most use of Sir Walter Raleigh, "Who must be allowed " to furpass the rest in Spirit, Perspicuity, and masterly Know-" ledge of his Subject." — Our Author, towards the Conclusion of his Preface, very modestly bespeaks the Indulgence of the Public for any Mistakes or Inaccuracies he may have been guilty of, and that wherever he has Occasionally differed from other Writers, he shall leave what he advances to take its Chance, and be in no concern to support it. --- He proposes (and we cannot help withing he had been more explicit in promising it) to oblige the World with another Volume, which shall continue the Roman Story to the Battle of Actium, which gave the Empire to Augustus, and compleatly diffolved the Commonwealth. This Volume is divided into three Books, the 4th, 5th, and 6th of the History; and those for the Convenience of Readers are subdivided into Chapters of a moderate Length. — The 4th includes from the Begining of the first Punic War, A. U. 489. to the End of the Second, A. U. 552; the 5th goes down to the End of the 3d Punic in 607; and the 6th extends from the Destruction of Carthage, when the Roman Power became irrefistable, to the Death of the Younger Gracchus in 632, the true Date (according to Mr. Hooke) of the Loss of Roman Liberty. The Volume is adorned with a Print by way of Frontispiece, of the Conference between Antiochus and Popilius, and with Maps of Sicily, Spain, and Greece. the Plans of Battles and Sieges, Mr. Hooke feems to think them of no Use but to swell the Price of a Book; for he remarks, p. 166, "That the Plans of the Action at Canna " are very faulty; and p. 480, That the two Jesuits might as well have given a Map of the Moon as it appears thro' a Telefcope, as a Plan of Carthage, which agrees neither " with Appian's Description nor their own."

Having dispatched the previous Points, we come to the Work itself; and as the Generality of our Readers must be supposed well acquainted with the Facts which compose the Roman Story, which is one of our earliest Studies as well as latest literary Amusements, it wou'd be a tiresome and superfluous Task to give a regular Abridgment of this Volume. We shall therefore content ourselves with pointing out some Particulars, wherein our Author differs from others who have run the same Career before him, and with transcribing

some Specimens of his Method and Stile.

Every body knows, that what gave the immediate Rife to the first Punic War, was the Affistance furnished by the Romans to the Mamertines, who had treacherously seized Mef-

fina, and had expell'd or massacred the antient Inhabitants. It is remarkable that this Succour was rejected by the Senate. from an Apprehension of appearing inconsistent in their Conduct, if they protected those Campanian Mercenaries, for the fame Crimes which had drawn the severest Punishments on their Bretheren at Regium; and that it was afterwards voted by the People from Motives of Ambition and Policy, and the Conful Appius ordered to transport an Army into Sicily. Sir Walter Raleigh is clearly of Opinion, that this Enterprize is unjust; Chevalier Folard as clear that it was not; Mr. Hooke passes his Judgment as follows, pag. 18. " If the Mamertines " are to be confider'd as a Civil Society, the Romans acted nothing contrary to Justice in making an Alliance with them, or in fuccouring them when in that Alliance. Rome had made no Treaty with the Carthaginians or with "Hiero, whereby she was bound not to concern herself with the Affairs of Sicily. If the Mamertines are not to 66 be confidered as a Civil Society, but as a Gang of Robbers and Pirates, Messina would then belong to the first Civil Society which should get Possession of it; and the Romans " having acquired the Right of first Possession, the Carthaginians must be considered as the Aggressors: For I prefume, that the latter cannot be deemed to have acquired " the Right of first Possession even of the Citadel, by the 66 bare Admission of their Officer with a few Men in it, fince they did not enter the Citadel as feizing it for themselves. but to guard it for the Usurpers against King Hiero."-The Roman Historians, and several of the Moderns on their Authority, represent the Destruction of Saguntum as the Cause of the second Punic War; and as they contend that City was included virtually in the Treaty of Lutatius, whereby no Violence was to be offered to the Allies of either Party. they fail not to represent the War as founded in the groffett Perfidy and Breach of public Faith. — Our Author discusses the Subject at length, and doubts whether the Treaty of Sicily can be construed to future Allies (the Saguntines not being then in Amity with Rome) as well as prefent. "But, fays he, (p.116, 117) admitting that it does,—what will follow? Not "that the fecond Punic War is to be imputed to the Injuffice of Hannibal and the Carthaginians, or that they were the " first Violators of the Peace between the two Nations. No. "The Romans had scandalously violated the Treaty by their 66 Scizure of Sardinia, and Extortion of 1200 Talents; and 44 all Conventions between Rome and Carthage following that first Violence and Breach of the Peace, were no 66 better better than Roman Injuries, as implying this Menace on the Part of the Romans—Do whatfoever we require, otherwife we will make War without Regard to our Oath, which we have already broken. And as their engaging " Asarubal to covenant that he would not pass the Iberus, " was a new Breach of the Peace with Spain, and a new Infult on Carthage, because Rome had as yet no Foot in so Spain on the one Side the River, whereas Carthage on "the other Side had almost all the Country; so the Alliance which the Romans made with the Saguntines, was in reality 46 a Breach of their Treaty with Asdrubal. For the Romans « could have no fort of Colour for requiring that Afdrubal 46 should not pass the Iberus, but an implicit Covenant that "this River should be a Boundary, over which they them-66 felves would not pass in any Discovery or Conquest by them intended to be made upon Spain, and that the Carthase ginians should be free to push their Conquests as far Northwards as this Limit. -- It should seem then that the 46 Carthaginians were not obliged by any Treaties with 46 Rome, or any Confideration of Justice, to abstain from the

War which Hannibal began."

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Notwithstanding this Reasoning, Polybius's Judgment of the Matter must pass for the true one, viz. That tho' Hannibal had a just Motive to begin the War, yet as he did not affign that Motive, but made use of a salse and unjust Pretext, his Enterprize appears contrary to good Faith, &c.— The Carthaginian Hero is a great Favorite of Mr. Hooke's, who (p. 382) takes Notice of the Preference given by Mr. Rollin to Scipio above Hannibal, in his Parallel between those two celebrated Captains; and goes through in Reply to the different Parts of their respective Characters as stated by that learned Author, giving all along the upper Hand to the Vanquished above the Vanquisher. The Topicks touched upon are Justice, Greatness of Soul, Charity and Religion. Indeed Mr. Hooke no where recommends the Roman Heroes as Models for our Conduct, or their Actions as Themes for Panegyric.-44 He hopes (p. 385) to be excused from attempting to draw at large the Characters of those shining Heroes we meet "with in the Roman Story; the Truth is, fays he, I am une-" qual to the Task of Character-drawing; and were I not, I " should still decline it, that I might not be charged with " the Affectation of a new kind of Colouring; for I cannot, from the Actions of the Scipio's, Marcellus, Emilius Paulus, Mummius Achaicus, and fuch like Worthies, form those 66 high " high Ideas of their Virtues, which their Panegyrists both

" Antient and Modern would have us entertain." He has another Reflection in p. 485, too remarkable to be omitted. "If the Reader calls to mind their faithless Treat-" ment of King Philip, the Baeotians, and the Spartan Na-66 bis; Flaminius' Errand to Prusias; the Knavery and Hyof pocrify of Marcius, in his Transactions with Perfes; the er Perfidy and Cruelty of Emilius Paulus; the Tyranny exercis'd over the Achaens and other Greeks, by the Senate, 66 after pretending to fet Greece at Liberty; their cruel Ufage of the Rhodians, for only defiring to mediate a Peace between Rome and Macedon; their Anger against Attalus, " because he would not ask them a Fart of his Brother's 66 Dominions; the Series of their Injustices to the African Republic, on occasion of her Disputes with Massinissa; and lastly, their fraudful Methods the more easily to effect the iniquitous and inhuman Resolution of utterly destroying " Carthage: If the Reader, I fay, recalls to mind these 66 Facts, he will think, what (Livy tells) was the Sentiment of the oldest Senators, concerning the Artifices of Marcius, would have been equally just with regard to their public 44 Proceedings in General; and that in the whole Conduct of the Romans, from their Victory at Zama to the End of 46 the third Punic War, there was scarce any thing worthy of " Antient Rome."

Even the Characters of Philip and Perseus, Princes whom History by no means transmits down to us in a favourable Light, and the latter especially infamous for Avarice and Cruelty, meet with no better Quarter from Mr. Hooke, for having been inveterate Enemies to the Romans. In truth, the Author's Zeal (and truly a most commendable one in an Historian) against a Delight in War, and the ambitious Pursuit of universal Empire, seem to have transported him on some Occasions a little too far: and because he considers the Heroes of Roman Antiquity, as Instruments in carrying on a Scheme of Usurpation and Conquest, he overlooks the many shining Proofs they gave of Civil and Social Virtue, of difinterested Patriotism, and Moderation in the midst of Victory .-If the great Men of these Days, which may be called the Golden Age of the Republic, deserve no better Treatment, who will find Words to express his Idea of those who flourished in later and more degenerate Times, from Marius to Cæfar, when it was thought

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Magnum decus ferroque petendum
Plus Patria potuisse sua; mensuraque juris
Vis erat. — sectorque favoris
Ipse sui populus. Luc.

The Reader will excuse me if I detain him a little on the last Chapter. The Story of the Gracchi is a curious one, and though it has been often told, Mr. Hooke throws it into a new Light. He defends the Cause of the two Brothers like an able and fair Advocate, against Mr. Gordon in one of his Essays on Sallust, and Doctor Middleton in his Life of Tully, Yet tells us humorously in his own Preface, that even in his Pleadings for Tiberius Gracchus, where he seems most defirous of being thought in the Right, the Reader is welcome to laugh as much at his Zeal in this Cause, as he ever did at the Zeal of Don Quixot for the Honour of Queen Madassima.

firous of being thought in the Right, the Reader is welcome to laugh as much at his Zeal in this Cause, as he ever did at the Zeal of Don Quixot for the Honour of Queen Madasima. Pag. 112. " Tiberius Gracchus of the Sempronian Family. " which tho' Plebeian had raifed itself to the greatest Honours " of the State, undertook when he was Tribune to remedy "the Evils occasioned by the Breach of the Licinian Law, "whereby no Roman Citizen was to possess more than 500 "Acres of Land, or to have upon his Estate more than 600 " great and small Cattle .- This Law however, notwith-" standing the Penalties annexed to it, fell by Length of "Time into a total Desuetude. The Rich and Mighty con-"trived to possess themselves of the Lands of their poor 16 Neighbours, at first under borrowed Names, and then in "their own. They employed foreign Slaves to cultivate the G Farms, fo that Italy was in Danger of lofing its Inhabitants of free Condition, and being over-run with Barbarians. 16 The Project of Tiberius met with the Approbation of some of the most respectful Persons of Rome, particularly Appins 66 Claudius, Crassus the Pont. Max. and Mucius Scavola 46 the Conful. Tiberius, to fosten the Matter, intended to remit the Fines occasioned by the Transgression of the Liginian Law, and to pay out of the public Money to the Possessions, the Price of the Lands that were to be taken " from them. The Rich however raifed a mighty Clamour se against the Hardship of stripping them of the Inheritance of their Ancestors, and the many Confusions of private Property which fuch an Innovation would produce; but as they could not pretend to answer the Arguments of the 16 Tribune, or prevail with the Commons to reject the Pro-66 pofal, " posal, they engaged Octavius Cacina, one of his Col-" legues, and till then his Friend, to oppose every Step he fhould take. Octavius, when the Agrarian Laws was going to be read to the People, stood up and forbid it, and had " many sharp Disputes with Tiberius in the Assembly: but the latter finding his Collegue inflexible, put the Question " from the Rostra, whether he should not be remov'd from " his Office; and when seventeen of the thirty-five had given their Suffrages for it, he turned to Octavius, and earnestly conjur'd him not to expose limself to so great a Dishonour 66 by his Obstinacy, nor bring upon him the Reproach of having degraded his Friend. The other continued for 66 some time filent; but after casting a look towards the Rich "there prefent; answered Tiberius, he might do as he pleased, and was deposed on the Spot. - On the removal of this "Obstacle the Law passed, and three Commissioners were e appointed to put it in Execution, viz. Appius Claudius, "Tiberius, and Caius Gracchus. This was a mortifying Stroke to the Senate; and Tiberius followed it with another, " for the Division of the Treasures of Attalus King of Per-" gamus (who had made the Republic his Heir) amongst the "Poor, to enable them to stock their Farms. " His Friends judging by the Intrigues and Cabals of " his Enemies that his Life would be in danger, as foon as " he was out of his Office, put him on the Project of es getting himself continued for another Year; and to difof pose the People to it, he gave them the Prospect of several " new Laws for their Advantage. 66 On the Day of the Election, the Partizans of the Rich c raised such a Tumult, that it was deferred till the next.— On the Morning of which, Tiberius had feveral intimations that the Nobles had drawn together their Clients and Slaves, and intended to affaffinate him before the Affembly began. " However, he difregarded their Advice, and with a numerous

or Serjeants. To make the People believe he was in Danger, he held his Hand to his Head, which by a Mistake was carried to the Senate, as if he demanded to be Crowned. Scipio Nasica, who was a great Owner of the Poors Lands, flamed at the News, and demanded of the Consul Scavola, to exert himself against the Tyrant by force of Arms: Scavola de-

46 Attendance of Friends hastened towards the Forum, and 46 armed them by the way with the Staves of the Apparitors

clining it as illegal before Condemnation, the other cried out, Since the chief Magistrate abandons the Republic, let

"those who love it follow me; and instantly with the Senate

46 and all their Clients at his Heels ran furious to the Capitol.
46 The Crowd dispersed at their approach. Tiberius's Friends

" for fook him, and in the Rout he stumbled, and was dispatched

"with Clubs by his Enemies: Three hundred of his followers perished with him in the Tumult, and others were put to

Death without the form of a legal Process. Scipio Nasica

"became so odious upon it, that the Senate were obliged to fend him into Asia, where he died of Grief and Vexation."

Mr. Hooke then proceeds to vindicate Tiberius from the Charge of Sedition, on these Grounds, that beyond all dispute the Nobles had contrary to Law poffeffed themselves of the Lands in Question, whereby no fmall Detriment redounded to the Commonwealth; that Prescription would not by any Legislature be looked upon as a Plea for Usurpation; that the Tribune proceeded in a legal and justifiable Method to cure this dangerous Grievance, and employed neither Force nor Bribes; that the deposing Octavius was an Act of that sovereign Authority, upon which there can be no Controul; that Mens Intentions are to be judged of by their known Characters, the Nature of their new Undertakings, and the Means they employ to accomplish them; and that in all these Respects Tiberius (as he shews) stands in a fair Light. ——He concludes with a Remark (p. 538.) which feems very pertinent and striking: "That the Corruption which ruined the Republic, could hard-" ly have been prevented but by fuch Regulations as Tiberius " proposed; Regulations which, had they taken place, the "Ambitious could not have had the Power they afterwards " possessed of bribing, nor the People thro' Indigence have

We have in the 10th Chapter of this Book an Account of the State of Caius Gracchus the younger Brother, which, having been pretty full in relation to the elder, we shall dwell the less upon. Caius had been bred to Letters from his Childhood, had used unwearied Application, and was Master of a most pathetic and perswasive Eloquence. During his two Tribuneships he carried thro' many Laws in favour of the Commons, and was mortally hated by the Nobles, who to discredit him with his Party, set up in Opposition to him Livius Drussus. This Man was the Proposer of many popular Schemes, and always told the Multitude that he did it by the Advice of the Senate, ever solicitous for their Welfare; he was however more cautious than Caius, and lest the Execution to others. Not long after the latter's Arrival from

Carthage, where he had been to fettle a Colony of Romans, he flood a third time for the Tribuneship, and missed it (as it

been tempted to barter their Liberty for Gold."

is faid) by a false Return. His mortal Enemy L. Opimius was also promoted to the Consulate, and his Ruin soon followed; for in a Riot which preceded an Affembly, wherein the Abrogation of his Proceedings in Afric was to be moved, one of the Confuls Lictor's was flain by the Friends of Caius, much against his Inclinations. This drew on a Decree from the Senate, usual in such Cases, that Opimius should take Care, ne quid detrimenti saperet Resp. and the Senators and Knights put themselves in Arms. I refer my Readers to the Book itself for the Particulars of the Tumult wherein Caius fell, who before his Death was very earnest for an Accommodation, and fent feveral Messengers to obtain it from the Conful, tho' to no Purpose. About 3000 of his Followers were flain by the Faction of the Nobles, and their dead Bodies thrown into the Tiber. And our Author concludes with observing, (p. 560) " That after the Gracchi "there never arose a Tribune or any other Magistrate honest enough to espouse the true Interest of the People. - The civil Contests henceforward were between the Senate tena-

cious of the Sovereign Rule, and a few Grandees who

66 fought to wrest it out of their Hands, or between one "Grandee and another, for the Superiority, each supported

" by an Army at his Devotion."

We hope we have given a sufficient Idea of Mr. HOOKE's Work, and of what there is particular in it; we shall just point out the Subject of some of the Notes wherewith he has embellished it, and so close this Extract. - There is one on the Life and Character of Hiero; another on the Rife and Progress of the Carthaginian Power, from Rollin .on the Sirname of Caudex given to Appius Claudius, - the controverted Story of Regulus's Death, - the Paffage of the Alps by Hannibal, - the Disposition of both Armies at the Battle of Cannæ, - the Character of Scipio the younger, and feveral others. --



# HISTORICAL MEMOIRS.

A fuccinet History of the REBELLION.

THERE is nothing that can contribute more to the furnishing proper Materials for the History of any Period of Time, than the fetting down in a clear and Chronological Order, a plain Narrative of Facts, while they are yet recent, and it is in a manner impossible that any material Mistakes should be made about them. It is through want of Care in this Particular, that in many ancient, and in some modern Histories, we are so much at a Loss about the Dates and Circumstances relating even to the most remarkable Events; so that our Knowledge is in a manner general, and confequently too often little better than fuperficial. In order to prevent this, with regard to fo memorable, as well as melancholy a Series of Transactions, as have passed since the breaking out of the present Rebellion, we thought we could not open this Part of our Work with greater Propriety, than by giving this History distinctly, inasmuch as it provides at once against two Inconveniences that would have been otherwise unavoidable; that is, the perplexing and confounding the Facts related therein, by intermixing them with other Matter, and the interrupting frequently our general History of the Affairs of Europe, by inferting therein from time to time, the Progress of this Rebellion. We might add to this many other Reasons, but that we apprehend they will be fo obvious to every Reader, that it is absolutely unnecessary; and therefore we shall content ourselves with of erving, that we intend no more than a plain Historical Narration, which for the fake of Perspicuity we shall divide, as indeed it naturally divides itself, into five separate Periods: viz. The Rife and Progress of this Rebellion, to the Time of the Highlanders entering England; the Particulars of their Invafion, from their passing the Tweed to their Arrival at Derby; their Retreat from thence back into Scotland; their Proceedings from that Time, to the raifing the Siege of Stirling-Caftle, and their Transactions since their Flight into the North to the present Time.

I. The Rife and Progress of the Rebellion, to the Time of the Highlanders entering South-Britain.

THE Arrival of the Pretender's eldest Son in France, could not but give great Reason to suspect that something was meditating then in his Favour, nor was it long before there were evident Signs of an intended Invasion, tho' the French Court pretended to have no Knowledge of the young Chevalier's Journey; and it was even fuggested by the French Party in Holland, that M. Amelot was removed and difgraced, for giving that young Adventurer those Hopes which drew him into France. Howe er, in the Summer of the Year 1745, it was known that some Preparations were privately making for an Expedition into Scotland; and a principal Officer in the French Navy raised a Company of about an hundred Men, under Pretence of the East-India Company's Service, which were stiled Grassins de Mer, and were handsomely cloathed in Blue faced with Red. They were put on board a Frigate, carrying eighteen Guns; and every thing being ready, the young Chevalier came privately from the House of the Duke de Fitz-James to Port Lazare in Brittany, where on the fourteenth of July he embarked with about fifty Scots and Irish, in order to have failed round Ireland, and land in the North-West of Scotland. This Frigate of his was joined off Belleisle by the Elizabeth, a Man of War of fixty-fix Guns, taken from us by the French in the last War, and now extreamly well mann'd for this Service. In their Paffage she fell in with a Fleet of English Merchantmen under the Convoy of three Men of War, one of which, viz. the Lyon, commanded by the gallant Captain Brett, engaged the Elizabeth for nine Hours, but foon after the Engagement began, the Frigate bore away, and continued her intended Voyage. The Elizabeth, when Night came on, made a shift to get free, and returned to Brest quite disabled, having her Captain and fixty-four Men killed, and one hundred and thirty dangerously wounded; she had on board a large Sum of Money, and Arms for feveral thousand Men, which, no doubt, were to have been landed in the West Highlands with the Pretender for the use of his Adherents.)

As for the Frigate beforementioned, she cruized for some Days between the Islands of Bara and Uyst, and at last stood in for the Coast of Lochabar, and there landed betwixt the Islands of Mull and Skie the young Chevalier and his Attendants. He went first to the House of Mr. Macdonald of

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Kenlock-Moidart, where he remained for fome time before he was in any Condition to fhew himself in Publick; but about the Middle of August, being joined by the Camerons of Lochiel, the Macdonalds of Glengary, the Stuarts of Appin, and others of the Clans, to the Number of between fifteen hundred and two thousand Men, he resolved to set up his Standard. This was accordingly done, and the Motto he made Choice of was Tandem Triumphans, that is, At length Triumphant. About the Middle of August he appeared with his Forces in the Neighbourhood of Fort-William, and about this Time published several of his Father's Manisesto's, among which one was dated in 1743, which plainly shewed that an Invasion was then intended, another in 1745, declaring his Son Regent, and a third containing large Promifes to the People of Scotland. Soon after, two Companies of Saint Clair's Regiment fell in with the Rebels, whom they were fent to reconnoitre, and were most of them taken Prisoners, as Captain Sweatnam of Guy's Regiment was prefently after; but he was released upon his Parole; and it was from this Gentleman that the first distinct Accounts were obtained of the Force, Disposition, and Design of the Rebels, who began then to think themselves strong enough to march Southward, which they very speedily prepared to do.

Lieutenant-General Sir John Cope, Knight of the Bath, was at this Time Commander in Chief of the King's Forces in Scotland, and had the entire Direction of Military Affairs there; in Confequence of which he drew together the Troops then in that part of the Kingdom, took fuch other Precautions as he thought requifite, and at length judged it expedient to march Northward, in order to find out the Enemy, supposing that they would either wait for him at the Chain, which is the Name usually given to the great Road cross the Island from Inverness to Fort-William, or endeavour to meet and fight him in his Passage; but they did neither: For while the General made a long and fatiguing March to Inverness, the Rebels gave him the Slip, and instead of marching through the Pass of Corryerroch, they took the Way over the Mountains; and the first News heard of them was, that they had taken Possession of Perth on the 4th of September, and that on the 5th the Pretender was publickly proclaim'd there. It was now known that several Persons of Distinction had declared for, and were in Arms to affift the Chevalier, particularly the Person call'd Duke of Perth, Chief of the noble Family of Drummend, and Grandson to the Earl of Perth, Chan-D 2

cellor of Scotland, who followed the Fortunes of the late King James, and was by him created Duke in France; the Marquis of Tullibardin, now stiling himself Duke of Athol, eldest Son to the late Duke, but attainted for the Share he had in the last Rebellion; Lord George Murray, his Brother, and several others; by which their Numbers so much increased, that on the 11th they began their March towards the Forth, which River they passed at the Frews, by fording it on the 13th, and seemed to direct their Rout towards Glasgow, which City the young Chevalier summoned, but receiving no Answer, they on the 14th diverted their March Eastward towards

Edinburgh.

In the mean time Sir John Cope reached Inverness, from whence he dispatched Orders Southward, for Transports to be fent him to Aberdeen, in order to bring his Forces back by Sea to the Port of Leith; and with this View he marched with all possible Expedition from Inverness to Aberdeen, where he embark'd his Men, and on the 16th of September entered the Harbour of Dumbar, where the next Day the Men landed, and on the 18th the Artillery. They were scarce well ashore, before they had Advice of the City of Edinburgh being in the Hands of the Rebels, with whom the Lord Provoft, and fome other Magistrates, had a kind of Treaty on the 16th in the Evening, and Terms being fettled, the Rebels entered the Place the next Morning about Five o' Clock. General Guest had retired into the Castle with a small Number of Regular Troops; the Bank, and most of the publick Offices, having very prudently been removed into that Fortress before. Brigadier Fowke, with Gardiner's and Hamilton's Dragoons, having joined Sir John Cope's Army, they, on the 19th, marched from Dumbar, and encamped that Night on the West Side of Haddington; the next Morning early they continued their March, and in the Evening reached Preston Pans, the Highlanders appearing on the high Grounds to the South of them, fo that they were very near each other, and some firing pass'd during the Night.

It is not easy to say, at least with Certainty, of what Number of Men each Army consisted; the Regiments that Sir John Cope had with him were Col. Gardiner and Major General Hamilton's Dragoons, Lieutenant General Guise's, Col. Lee's, Col. Murray's, Col. Lascelles's, and the Earl of Loudon's Regiments of Foot; but of these there was only one compleat. As for the Rebels, the largest Number mentioned in any of our Accounts, was five Thousand, but they owned themselves no more than three Thousand; and it is agreed, that not a-

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bove one Half of these engaged. They attacked the King's Troops about Three in the Morning, and the Dragoons breaking on the first Fire, lest the Foot exposed to the Highlanders, by whom, after a short Dispute, they were deseated, a considerable Number killed, and the best Part of the rest made Prisoners, the sew Field-Pieces they had with them being likewise taken. The Earls of Loudon and Hume having rallied the Dragoons, retired with them to Lauder, and from thence the next Day to Berwick; Brigadier Fowke, and Col. Lascelles came back to Dumbar, and Sir John Cope went to Berwick. This is, by some, called the Battle of Presson Pans, by others, the Battle of Seaton, from two little Towns near which it was sought; but it is more properly stiled the Battle of Glaidesmuir, since that was the Field of Battle, being a wide barren Heath, about seven Miles East from Edinburgh.

# A LIST of the Officers Killed and Wounded.

Colonel Gardiner's Dragoons: Col. Gardiner, killed; Lieut. Col. Whitney, wounded. Hamilton's Dragoons: Lieut. Col. Wright, wounded; Major Bowles, wounded. Lascelles's Foot: Capt. Steuart, killed; Ensign Bell, much wounded. Murray's: Capt. Leslie, slightly wounded; Ensign Haldane, dangerously wounded. Guise's: Capt. Pointz, dangerously wounded; Capt. Holwell, killed. Leigh's: Capt. Bromer, killed, Capt. Rogers, killed, Lieut. Col. Whiteford, slightly wounded.

The Rebels, after this Engagement, continued at Diddifion and Musselburgh on the 22d and 23d, and did not return to Edinburgh till the 24th. On the 28th, they sent out Parties to Haddington and Dumbar, and the same Day they sent away most of the private Men they had taken Prisoners, to Perth. On the 29th, they sent the Officers they had taken thither likewise; and that Evening they began to take their Measures for cutting off all Communication between the Cassle of Edinburgh and the Town, which, considering that they wanted heavy Artillery, and indeed all other Requisites for a Siege, was a very needless and strange Attempt, and served only to expose themselves to considerable Loss, as appeared plainly by the Event.

On the first of October they opened their Trenches on the Castle Hill, a little below the Reservoir; upon which, they began to fire from the Castle, killing three Men, and wounding a commanding Officer, so that by Four in the Asternoon the Highlanders abandoned their Works. The City of Glafgow being summoned a second Time, and sisteen Thousand

Pounds being demanded by way of Contribution, they were constrained to compound the Matter for five Thousand Guineas, which were immediately paid. Hostilities continued between the Garrison of the Castle of Edinburgh and the Rebels, till the Fifth in the Evening, when feveral Houses being beat down by the Artillery, and the Rebels having loft twenty Men in an Attempt to drive Part of the Garrison from the Castle Hill, the Communication between the Town and Castle was reftored, and Hostilities ceased. On the Seventh, the Rebels demanded Half a Crown in the Pound from the Landlords of Houses in Edinburgh, under Pain of Military Execution. About the Middle of this Month they were joined by confiderable Reinforcements under the Command of feveral Persons of Distinction, particularly old Gordon of Glenbucket, Forbes Lord Pitsligo, the Earl of Kilmarnock, and others. They likewife received from Abroad confiderable Supplies of Ammunition, Military Stores, small Arms, and some Field-Pieces. There was also one Mr. Boyer came over in one of these Vessels from France, as an Agent, whom they were pleased to dignify with the Title of Ambassador. Towards the latter End of the Month, a great Part of their Army marched to Dalkeith, to which Place they removed their Field-Pieces and Ammunition; and having erected a Battery at Alloway, to fecure the Passage of the Frith, they transported from Montrose, Stonebive, and other Places, the Supplies they had received from Abroad, in one Hundred and Eighty-five Carts, and by other Dispositions plainly shewed that they had taken a Resolution to march Southward, and were in earnest preparing to execute it.

His Majesty, in the mean Time, had been pleased to declare Field Marshal Wade Commander in Chief of the Army which was intended for the North. Our Forces foon began to move that Way, and the Dutch Troops were landed at Newcastle, as also Part of the British Forces that were recalled from Flanders, under the Command of the Earl of Albemarle. The Tryal Sloop likewise brought into Briffel a Spanish Ship, on board of which were two Thousand five Hundred Fusils with Bayonets, and one Hundred Barrels of Gunpowder, feven Chests of Money, &c. design'd for the Service of the Rebels. By this Time also the Militia in the Northern Counties were raifed, and Affociations and voluntary Contributions fet on foot in most Parts of the Kingdom. In the County of York particularly, through the timely Vigilance and Zeal of the Archbishop, affisted by the Nobility and Gentry, four new Regiments were raifed, cloathed, and disciplined at the Expence of the County. There was likewife a confiderable Body of Gentlemen Volunteers on Horfeback, who ferved at their own Expence, put in Motion under the Command of Major General Oglethorpe, stiled the Royal Hunters. In Scotland, the Lord President of the Court of Session, Duncan Forbes Esq; diffinguished himself by his Zeal and Activity, in distributing Commissions for raising several Independent Companies in the North, which were to be put under the Command of the Right Honourable the Earl of Loudon; fo that by the End of the Month, there was an Army of 14,000 Men formed in the North of England, and a very confiderable Body raised in the North of Scotland, for the Security of Inverness, Fort William, and other Garrisons there; which Military Preparations, joined to the loyal Spirit which shewed itself in all Parts of the Nation, and more particularly at London, very probably disappointed the Designs of the Disaffected, hinder'd many from joining the Rebels, and even drew off fome who had gone to Edinburgh with that Resolution. This was not much confidered at that Time, but we have Reason to judge fo fince; and therefore there is no Caufe to cenfure the Expence the Nation was put to by these Levies, the' they did not enter on immediate Service; they shewed the Sense of the People, they protected the King's well-meaning Subjects, and awed the Highlanders for some Time.

On the first of November, the young Chevalier came to the Camp at Dalkeith, and caused the noble Palace there belonging to his Grace the Duke of Buccleugh, and which is reputed one of the finest Houses in Scotland, to be prepared for his Reception. and there he fixed his Head Quarters, as lying very conveniently either for fending Spies or Detachments, to fee what was doing in the North of England. He had however but cool Encouragement, fome refusing to read his Letters, and feveral of his Emissaries being seized at Newcastle, Berwick, and at other Places. He detached two advanced Corps from thence, one of which marched towards Pennycook, and the other to Loanhead, both Places being in the Way to Peebles and Carlifle; these Detachments escorted their Baggage and Ammunition in about one Hundred and Fifty Carts and Waggons, and near the fame Number of Sumpter Horses. On the Fifth their Forces began their March Southwards in three Columns. At this Time the Duke of Perth (as he stiled himfelf) had the Title of General, Lord George Murray had the Rank of Lieutenant General; Lord Elcho, who is eldeft Son to the Earl of Wemys, commanded those that were about the Person of the young Pretender, and were stiled his Life-Guards:

Guards; the Earl of Kilmarnock, a middle-aged Nobieman, and corpulent in his Person, acted as Colonel of Hussars; and Lord Pitsligo had the Command of the Angus Horse. But though. in regard to their Interests, these People were honoured with those Commands, it was known that the Pretender confided only in a few Persons, most of whom came over with him. At the Head of his Councils was Sir Thomas Sheridan, who has been long about him, an Irish Gentleman, of a middle Age, and reputed a Man of Capacity; Col. Sullivan, who had been a little while in the French Service, and was fomewhat of an Engineer: General Macdonald, an Irifh Officer, who was his Aid de Camp; Mr. Kelly, who was feveral Years in the Tower, on the Affair of the late Bishop of Rochester; and Mr. Murray of Broughton, who acted all along as his Secretary. The Number of Men that the Pretender had with him at this Juncture. has been so very differently reported, that it is not easy to affign it with any Certainty; but according to the most authentic Accounts we have had fince, they feem to have been about feven Thoufand, fome of whom, when they confider'd the Dangers to which they were exposed, deferted. But notwithfranding this and other Difappointments, the Rebel Chiefs continuing firm in their first Resolution, began to pass the Tweed on the fixth, and the same Day their advanced Guards entered England.

His Excellency Field Marshal Wade was by this Time arrived at Newcastle, had formed the King's Army there, and would have marched to fight the Rebels, if he had not found it necessary to be first informed whether they really intended to invade England, and which Rout they meant to take, that of Newcastle, or Carlisle. He caused likewise a Declaration to be published, promising Pardon to such of the Highlanders as returned to their Duty by the 12th of November, and took fuch Precautions for the Security of the adjacent Country, as obliged the Rebels, who were too far advanced to think of retiring into Scotland, to throw themselves into the Western Road, to which their People in general, and most of their Chiefs, feem'd at first to be least inclined. The Rigour of the Season, their late forced Marches, and a kind of Flux among the Soldiers, retarded the Operations of the King's Troops for some Time; but good Quarters, proper Refreshments, and the extraordinary Care of their Officers, foon overcame those Difficulties, and put the Army into so good a Condition, as enabled them to go through the Winter Campaign with fewer Inconveniencies and much less Loss than could have been reasonably expected, considering the gr at Hardthips thips and excessive Fatigues to which those Corporaticularly, that had served all the Summer before in Flanders, were necessarily exposed.

II. The Particulars of the Invasion from the Rebels passing the Tweed to their Arrival at Derby.

N the feventh of November, the Rebel Army advanced to Halyhaugh, and from thence fent out Parties to fcour the adjacent Country. On the eighth they came to Langton, and on the ninth they appeared on a Moor two Miles from the City of Carlifle. This Place, which is the chief Town in Cumberland, was formerly very strong, and considered as a Bulwark against the Scots. The best Part of its old Walls were flanding; and the Castle, tho' an ancient irregular Fortress, had such remains of Strength, that in the Opinion of Colonel Durand who commanded there, it was tenable against a better Army than that of the Rebels. In point of Force there was the whole Militia of the two Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland, and some Invalids in the Castle; so that when the young Pretender summoned them, they absolutely refused to give up the Place; upon which the Rebels filed off towards Bramton, where they spent fome time in confulting what was to be done. It is faid that the Officers were inclined to march on, but the Men shewing a Desire to return to Carlisle, it was not judged adviseable by their Superiors to cross their Inclinations; and therefore after cutting a great deal of Wood for Fascines and Scaling-Ladders in Corby and Warwick Parks, they on the thirteenth began to move back towards Carlifle. The Place in all Probability might even then have made a Defence, but the Threats of the Rebels had such an Effect, that the white Flag was hung out and the Town capitulated on the fifteenth, and the Castle too was soon after given up; but the Governor took Care to withdraw, as difliking the Terms, and perfifted in his first Opinion, that the Place might have been defended. Thus this City fell into the Hands of the Rebels, who immediately caused the Pretender to be proclaim'd, and put a Garrison into the Castle under the Command of the Duke of Perth, who was declared Governor of Carlifle, and so continued all the time the Rebels were in England.

As foon as Marshal Wade had Intelligence at Newcastle of the Rout which the Rebels had taken, he resolved notwithstanding the Severity of the Scason, to march from thence to the Relief of Carlisle; and accordingly on the fixteenth the Army began to move for that Purpose. His Excellency intended to have begun his March as foon as it was light, but moving from the left, the Swifs Troops had the Van, and as they could not be prevailed on to ffir till Ten o'Clock, this delayed their Motions for feveral Hours, to the great Prejudice of the Expedition; for the Weather being excelfively cold, attended with a deep Snow and a hard Frost, the Troops fuffered much. The Major Generals Howard and Oglethorp, and the Brigadiers Cholmondeley and Mordaunt, marched on foot at the Head of the Infantry to encourage the Soldiers. It was eight at Night and very dark before the front Line got into the Camp at Ovington; and tho' the Soldiers march'd with great Chearfulness, yet the Roads being terribly broke and full of Ice, it was forefeen that many of the last Column might drop through excessive Fatigue; and therefore the Major Generals Husk and Oglethorp, sent out Countrymen with Lights and Carts to affift the Rear Guard, and bring up the tired Men; in which Service they were employed till near nine the next Morning. On the seventeenth the Marshal continued his March to Hexam, where he arrived with the first Line about four in the Afternoon; but the Rear of the Army did not come up till near Midnight. His Excellency having Intelligence that Carlifle had furrendered, refolved to march back to Newcastle, and accordingly he did; but the Weather continuing bad, and the Roads being become in a manner impassable, he did not arrive there with the Army till the twenty-fecond; and even then, the Forces under his Command were so excessively fatigued, that if it had not been for the great Care taken of them by the People of Newcastle, who shewed the utmost Zeal and Affection in providing them Quarters, they must have been in a great Measure ruined by their fatiguing March.

This Invalion of the Rebels having thrown all the Northern and Western Parts of the Kingdom into great Consustion, Directions were given for forming another Army in Lancaspire, which it was at first intended shou'd be commanded by Sir John Liganier, Knight of the Bath. The following newrais'd Troops, viz. The Duke of Montague's and the Duke of Kingston's Horse; the Duke of Ancaster's, Earl of Cholmondley's, Earl of Berkley's, Earl of Halisax's, Lord Gower's, and Lord Herbert's Regiments of Foot, together with eight old Regiments, were assigned for this Service, and ordered to march into Staffordsbire directly. The City of Chester was also put into a good Condition of Desence, in a surprising short Space of Time, by the Care and Diligence of the Right Hon, the Earl of Cholmondeley. At Liverpool likewise, all necessary Pre-

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cautions were taken, and the Inhabitants of that Town shew-

ed as great Spirit and Resolution as cou'd be desired. The Rebels did not continue long at Carlifle; for on the nineteenth the young Pretender made his Entry into that City, and on the twentieth his Forces continued their March to Penrith, from whence they advanced on the twenty-fecond to Kendall; moved from thence to Lancaster on the twentyfourth, and on the 27th reached Preston. They were at Wiggan and Lee on the 28th, and in the Afternoon of the fame Day an advanced Party entered Manchester, where they began to beat up for Volunteers, but with much less Success than they expected, tho' fome few People joined them; and they had likewise picked up some Persons of desperate Fortune in their March, but however no body of any Rank or Distinction came in, which without Doubt was a great Disappointment, for they had flattered themselves with the Hopes of a confiderable Infurrection in their Favour. On the twenty-ninth the main Body of their Army moved towards Manchester, and about ten in the Morning their Horse entered the Town, and the Bellman was fent about to require all fuch as had any public Money in their Hands to bring it in. About two in the Afternoon the young Pretender, at the Head of a confiderable Body of pick'd Highlanders, and in their Drefs, march'd into Manchefter and was proclaim'd. In the Evening the Bellman was again fent about to order the Town to be illuminated, and at Night the Rear of their Army arrived; but though they had demanded Quarters for ten thousand Men, it was judged they never had in Manchester above half that Number. On the thirtieth a Part of the Rebel Army marched for Stockport, and the rest for Knotsford; they carried off all the Horses they cou'd meet with in the Neighbourhood of Manchester; at Night several Parties cross'd the River Mersey at different Places over Bridges made of Trees and Planks laid across, in framing of which they compell'd the Country People to affift them. It is very remarkable, that in their whole Progress no Discoveries could be made of the Routs they intended to take, because they were never given out above an Hour before their March began; and neither Officers nor Soldiers knew over Night where they were to go, or what Service they were to perform the next Morning: which Secrefy in all Probability preferved them from Destruction; fince however formidable they might be at a Distance, those who saw them at Nianchefter and other Places, were very far from thinking they made a dreadful Appearance.

In the mean time the Duke's Army was forming in Stafford/hire: for upon the Approach of the Rebels it was refolv'd that his Royal Highness should be sent down to command the Forces in that Part of the Kingdom; and accordingly he arrived at Litchfield on the twenty-eighth of November, his Troops being at that Time canton'd with a Line of Cavalry in the Front, from Tamworth to Stafford, making a very fine Appearance, and well furnished with Artillery and whatever else was requisite for the Service. As to the Force of which his Army consisted, we can only say that the following was looked upon at that time as the most authentic Account that could be procured.

# An exact LIST of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland's Army.

Veteran Soldiers 7,500
New-rais'd Soldiers 3,000
Foot 10,500
Veteran Horse 1,400 New-rais'd Horse 800
In all 2,200
Total of the Army 12,700

The Army under the Command of Field-Marshal Wade began to move towards the latter End of the Month, the Cavalry having reached Darlington and Richmond by the twenty-fifth: and on the twenty-ninth, Marshal Wade with the Infantry was at Persbridge, from whence he proposed to march to Wetherby, and there to canton the whole Army in the adjacent Villages; looking upon this as the most convenient Situation either for diffreshing the Enemy in case they shou'd attempt to retreat, or for co-operating with his Royal Highness's Forces, as Occasion shou'd require. By these wellconcerted Dispositions, all Apprehensions of Danger were in a great Measure taken off, and the Country People began every where to recover their Spirits, and to put themselves in the best Posture of Defence they could, in case of their being vifited by these Highland Invaders. Such was the Situation of things at the Close of last November; and we are now to return. return to the Progress of the Rebels so long as they continued to persist in their wild Design of advancing farther into South

Britain.

On the first of December, the young Chevalier, with the main Body of his Army and all his Artillery, entred Macclesfield; and at this Time the greatest Part of the Rebels really expected an Engagement, as appeared by their scaling, fireing, and putting in Order their Pieces all the Afternoon and Evening of that Day. But what were the true Intentions of the Chevalier and his Council of War it is impossible to fay, fince at first it was believed they intended to march into Wales; but perceiving that if they shou'd accomplish that Scheme, they must certainly be shut up there, and reduced to great Necessities in a mountainous Country with which they were not acquainted, they abandon'd this Project as impracticable. On the 2d, about 2000 of their Foot paffed by Gowfworth, and about the like Number of Horse and Foot entered Congleton, at the same time that they sent a Detachment to Ashburn, as if they had an Intention to have struck off to Newcastle under Line. The next Day however, these two great Bodies of their Forces advanced, one of them to Leek. and the other to Ashburn, within fifteen Miles of Derby. the fourth in the Morning, the Pretender's Son entered Derby with near 500 Horse and about 2000 Foot, and in the Evening the rest of their Forces, their Artillery, and their Baggage arrived there likewife; but with all the Precaution possible, to hinder any exact Account from being taken of their Numbers, which was a Point they laboured with the utmost Diligence during their whole March. On their first coming into Derby it was judged both from the Measures they took, and from the Behaviour of their Officers, that they were still difposed to march on. In the Evening however, they held several Councils of War, in which the Disputes among their Chiefs rose so high that they could not be concealed; yet they agreed upon nothing that Night, except levying the public Money, which they did with unufual Circumstances of Terror and Violence. The next Day they continued at Derby. and about Noon another great Council was held in the Prefence of the young Pretender, in which, as it was afterwards known, a final Resolution was taken of retiing back into Scotland. There have been various Reasons affigned for their taking this Refolution; but as it is our Intention to report Facts rather than Conjectures, we shall pass them by, and content ourselves with observing, that notwithstanding all the Artifices used to prevent it, there was a very true

true and curious Calculation made of their Numbers during the Time they staid at *Derby*; which was the more easy, because they remain'd there longer, and were more regularly quartered than in any other Place during their whole March; and therefore I have judged it requisite to give a place here to that Calculation. It was made by the principal Inhabitants of the Town in all its Parishes, and that it might be the more exact, it was taken both the first Night and the second, so that the small Difference between those Calculations plainly shows how much they may be depended on, since it is impossible that any considerable Mistake should have happened therein, considering how near they approach each other.

First Night.					Parishes. Seco	Second Night,	
1,590		-		-	St. Warburg's	1,641.	
2,979	-		-	-	All Saints	3,027.	
1,001	119	-	-		St, Peter's	1,001.	
724	-	-	-		St. Michael's	724.	
714	•	-	-	-	St. Alcmund's	755.	
7,008.		n		7.5	owen and Pour englader	7,148.	

N. B. Women and Boys excluded.

It was during their stay at Derby that the Rebels began first to shew that kind of Spirit, which appeared afterwards so plainly, and the Effects of which made fuch deep Impressions on the Minds of the People, as are not eafily to be worn out. For having been informed during their stay here, that a Subscription had been set on foot in that Town for the King's Service a little before their Arrival, and that the Money was paying in, they found means to procure a Copy of this Subscription-Roll; and when they were thought to have quitted the Place, fent back a Party to levy fuch Sums as were mentioned in that Roll, under pain of Military Execution. They were, during their Stay, very affiduous in providing themselves with Cloaths, Stockings, Shoes and other Necessaries; and as it cannot be believed that fuch Customers would pay the full Value for all they had, fo the Difference between their Price and the just Price of the Commodities and Manufactures they took, might be confidered as a fecond Contribution. They also endeavoured to levy Men here, beat up publickly for that purpose, but with very little faccess, fince there were not above three who listed in the Town, and those of the very lowest of the People in point of Morals as well as Condition. Which shows how low their Credit was brought, and might poffibly be amongst the Reasons which all together determined them

to delay their Retreat no longer.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, at the Head of the King's Forces, took all imaginable Pains to force the Rebels to a decifive Engagement; and when that was found impossible, to hinder their March into North Wales, or their alarming the Nation by continuing their Incursion, and advancing farther into the Heart of the Kingdom. In order to effect the former of these Purposes, his Royal Highness advanced to Stone upon the first Advice of the Rebels being at Congleton; but when it appeared that their true Defign was to march to Derby, the King's Forces moved towards Northampton to intercept them in their Rout Southwards; and having been informed that the Rebels had possessed themselves of Swarkston-Bridge, his Royal Highness encamped on the fixth with the greatest part of the Forces on Meriden Common, between Coleshill and Coventry. In the mean time his Excellency Field-Marshal Wade, had marched the Army under his Command to Wetherby, where he encamped on the fifth; and the fame Day Orders were given for the Horse and Dragoons to proceed to Doncaster, whither the Foot were to follow them. These Dispofitions afforded fufficient Reason for the Rebels to retreat, fince whoever confiders them attentively, will find, that in the first Place, it would have been very difficult for them to have proceeded farther, without meeting with and being obliged to fight the Duke's Army, which was what they never defign'd; as on the other Hand, if they had succeeded in their Scheme, and by some Means or other continued their March without coming to a Battle, it must have ended in their absolute Ruin, fince a Delay of two or three Days must have rendered their Retreat Northwards altogether impossible.

Before we close this Period of our History, it is requisite to observe, that the second Son of the Pretender being arrived in France, there were about this Time vast Preparations made there for the Invasion of this Kingdom; and though by the timely Precautions taken by the Lords of the Admiralty, they were prevented, and more especially by the Vigilance of Admiral Vernon, who was intrusted with the Command in the Channel; yet they occasioned a great deal of Consusion, and proved in that Respect of some Service to the Rebels; but in another Sense, they were of Service to the Nation; since they not only kept alive, but heighten'd that Spirit of Zeal and Loyalty, which had appeared from the breaking out of the Rebellion, and of which all Ranks and Degrees of People

gave at this Time fuch lively Testimonies, as were sufficient to convince even our Enemies, that his Majesty reigned in the Hearts and Affections of his Subjects, as well as over their Persons. Yet in North Britain the Flame of Rebellion began again to fpread itself, by the Affistance of the French; for Lord John Drummond having landed with about five hundred Men at Aberdeen, Peterhead, and Montrose, he was very soon joined by that Body which Lord Lewis Gordon had been raising in the North, as well as by other of the disaffected Clans, fuch as the Mackenzies, the Mackintofbes, the Farguhar fons, and the Frazers, to the Number of between two and three thousand Men; with which Forces he drew down towards e young Pretender was at Derby. Perth about the Tim. The Earl of Loudon, who was at the Head of a small Body of Men for the King's Service in the North, spared no Pains or Diligence in exciting the well-affected Clans to join him; and by the Re-inforcements he received from the Macleods, the Grants, the Monroes, the Sutherlands, and the Guns, he was foon two thousand strong. At Edinburgh likewife, and at Glasgow they began to raise Men for the Service of the Government with great Chearfulness and Success; so that two good Regiments were completed, besides several Independent Corps; as will be feen more at large in the fucceeding Period, when we come to speak of the Measures taken for fuppressing the Rebellion in Scotland.

# The END of NUMBER I.

